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Center for Slavic and East European Studies

Newsletter

Spring, 1992
Vol. 9 No. 3

What Makes a Revolution A Revolution?

Martin Malia Reflects on the Situation in the Former Soviet Union and On Revolutions Past and Present

Martin Malia is professor emeritus in the Department of History, UC Berkeley. As an undergraduate at Yale during World War II he became interested in Russia and the Soviet Union, an interest that was strengthened by the USSR's emergence as a world power at war's end. At Harvard, where he received his Ph.D. in 1951, he studied with Michael Karpovich, one of the founders of serious academic Russian history in America. He wrote his dissertation on the development of the social thought of Alexander Herzen, "because the tradition of Russian socialism really begins with Herzen...the socialist utopia, the socialist fantasy, entered Russian history in his generation, and he was, perhaps, its chief proponent."

A specialist on the theory of revolution, Professor Malia began his teaching career at Harvard and in 1958 came to Berkeley, where he taught until his retirement in 1991. He has also taught regularly in Paris, at the Ecole des Hautes Etudes en Sciences Sociales, the College de France and the Institut de Sciences Politiques. He has traveled extensively in the former Soviet Union and has many long-standing friendships with both Russian-Soviets and Russian-Americans in the émigré community here and in Europe.

He is the author of Alexander Herzen and the Birth of Russian Socialism (Harvard University Press, 1961); and Comprendre la Révolution russe (Le Seuil, 1980). Of special importance among his numerous articles on communism are two on Poland's Solidarity movement in the New York Review of Books in 1982 and 1983; two on the Russian Revolution of 1991 in the same periodical for June and September, 1991; "To the Stalin Museum," under the pseudonym "Z" in Daedalus, Winter 1990; and "The Hunt for the True October," in Commentary, October 1991.

Professor Malia spoke with the Slavic Center's Dr. Elizabeth Shepard on February 27, 1992.

BETH SHEPARD : *You come at Russian and Soviet history, it seems to me, through an interest in intellectual history rather than specifically through social history or dates and actors. Is that so?*

MARTIN MALIA : Yes, that's exactly so. I have nothing against social history—it is after all the part of history that gets at how people live. The subjects it treats are subjects that most people are concerned with in their daily experience. However, it's impossible, to my mind, to explain a political-ideological structure such as the Soviet regime in terms of an alleged social base, namely, of what the workers or peasants or whoever wanted. The Soviet regime is a partocracy: the rule of the Party. The partocracy rules in the name of an idea: the idea of socialism. So it's an ideocratic partocracy. The workers and peasants don't create ideocratic partocracies, ideological politicians do. The key to the Soviet experience is to find out how a group of ideological politicians managed to take over the wreckage of the Russian empire in 1917. They were only one fragment of the Russian intelligentsia, of course. This takeover shouldn't be blamed on the entire intelligentsia, any more than it should be blamed on the workers and peasants. But through the extraordinary circumstances created by that exceptionally destructive event, World War I, this group was able to seize power and to impose its ideocratic vision on the wreckage of Russian society. That is an extraordinary event in world history; obviously it mesmerized the rest of the planet. Everyone was fascinated at this spectacle of Reason-in-Power, or putative Reason-in-Power. That is one of the reasons the Soviet regime had its three-quarter-century success on the world

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Newsletter

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The newsletter is published quarterly during the academic year. Please send suggestions, corrections or inquiries to the editor at the above address. Submit mailing address changes to the Center, Attn.: Newsletter Mailing List; or call the Center at 510/642-3230.

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Would you call the Bolshevik coup a revolution?

It wasn't a revolution in the sense of being a breakthrough of more-or-less formed forces that overthrew an existing old regime. In its form it was a *coup d'etat*: a small, not terribly well-organized group took over. Nevertheless in its consequences it was absolutely revolutionary, because it was only through this *coup d'etat* that the ideocratic partocracy, as I've called it, could be imposed on the wreckage of Russian society. Its consequences were staggeringly revolutionary, although its form wasn't all that different from what happens every few years in certain parts of Latin America.

You've been a student of revolutions, the theory and practice of revolutions, for much of your life. Would you characterize briefly what a revolution is: what makes an event revolutionary?

There's no one meaning to the word "revolution." We have to take this historically. The word is European, and the phenomenon is initially European. There aren't events we'd call revolutions outside Europe until the non-European world starts imitating Europe in that respect in the 20th century. The European revolutions are all directed against one thing, namely, what after 1789 was called an "old regime." Old regimes involve an absolute monarchy, legal class hierarchy, a situation where all authority is viewed as coming from above, and where social differences among the population are considered to be normal and natural. The old regime order was viewed as sacred, and the ecclesiastical polity and the monarchical polity were viewed as two faces of the same system. Western revolutions, beginning if you like with the Hussites in the fifteenth



In a contemporary caricature, a county deputy holding the Tree of Liberty aloft arrives for the 1789 Third Estates.

century, were directed against the bases of what could be called the old regime or "feudal" European structure.

These revolutions began as much as revolts against the universal Church as against the national monarchy and nobility. But in time the revolutions become increasingly secular. Perhaps the turning point would be the English Revolution in the seventeenth century. The revolt against the Anglican Church is intimately linked with the revolt of Parliament against the king, and what comes out of it is a co-rule of Parliament and king. The French Revolution is almost completely secular, and only after that time is it clear to Europeans what a revolution is. This is when the word, which hitherto had meant "restoration," acquires the meaning of "radical overturn." From then on they started to anticipate what the next revolution will be. 1848 is the first major anticipated revolution; Marxism was invented to be the theory of this coming revolution.

But things didn't work out that way. The conservatives won out, because

they, too, had learned what the scenario was. So the anticipated ultimate revolution turned out to be the Russian Revolution, which used the theories of 1848. This time the small band of ideologues won, because of the peculiar fragility of the Russian political and social system, in conjunction with the devastating impact of World War I. So at last there they were: Reason-in-Power. It's taken 74 years for us to find out that it wasn't a very good bargain.

Are you interested in the question of stages of revolutionary development after the seizure of power? Are there certain stages or common features in the early stages of revolutionary regimes?

I'd put the Russian and communist revolutions in a very different category from the English and French Revolutions. It's as if the Jacobins who came to power in France in 1792-1793 had hung on until the 1860s and kept a monopoly of power. Or that the English Independents, the Saints, had hung on into the early 18th century. That's the sort of thing you have in Russia. It's unique. The Jacobins

didn't even have a national political organization; they were a loose federation of clubs. The Soviet party-state, with its aspiration to take over society totally—the economy, the administration, education, culture, and even private life insofar as possible—is new and unique. You don't have stages after the Bolsheviks take power in 1917, stages analogous to those you had in England or France, from moderate revolution to the dictatorship of virtue, to *Thermidor*. You do have *phases*, however, but they're stages of a new sort, concerned with building socialism.

Socialism was supposed to appear on its own with the collapse of capitalism. Well it didn't appear as anticipated. The Bolsheviks seized power in the midst of World War I, and this coup then provoked a civil war in Russia. Instead of waiting for the war to end and revolution to break out in the West, they started building socialism right away in Russia, in part to survive and in part because that's what a socialist government is supposed to do. This gave us War Communism. War Communism, in conjunction with the strains of the civil war, produced the collapse of the economy. So they had to give it up. They retreated to a very mixed economy, the NEP. Incidentally, the glories of the NEP have been greatly exaggerated in Western scholarship. This scholarship now presents it as a moderate communism that would allow the country to "grow into socialism." At the time it was viewed as a shameful retreat and a breathing spell; it was not viewed by most Bolsheviks as the solution of how to get to socialism.

Eventually, eleven years after October, the Party embarked on the second socialist offensive, because the unwillingness of the peasantry to cooperate economically with the regime threatened its power. So in the second socialist offensive they at last

“...Poland after 1980 represents the beginning of the end, and the Soviet opposition learned a great deal from this earlier East European event.”

built socialism, by which they meant the collectivization of the peasantry and massive national industrialization. Once they had got socialism built, the partocracy became a defensive operation. First the Bolsheviks had to defend it on the world scene in World War II. They emerged victorious, which made them a major power for the rest of their existence. That's what really put them over the hump. But the system had a very primitive, coercive, military-type command economy, which placed great limits on the amount of economic growth and world power they could squeeze out of it. Consequently, after Stalin's death, they had to move into what I call "reform communism" in order to preserve the system and try to make it more efficient.

But reform communism inevitably involves two things: decentralization and some measure of truth about the system. The system of "built" socialism as created by Stalin—but as sketched in already by Lenin under War Communism—can't tolerate either proposition, because it is based on the centralized use of coercive force. Therefore you have to lie about what your socialism is.

Each time the Party moved into reform communism things skidded off into dissolution, first in Eastern Europe under Khrushchev, but eventually, in the great Gorbachev bout of reform communism, in the Soviet Union itself. The collapse of communism in

Eastern Europe in 1989 showed that the system could be defeated, that the conquests of socialism were reversible. And this suggested to the Russian democrats that it could be overthrown in the Soviet Union as well, that they didn't have to put up with it any more. So the perestroika bout of reform communism wound up destroying it everywhere. And those are the stages of communist revolution: from the first takeover, through the building of socialism, to its long wind-down after World War II.

You've recently written that the process of communism's disintegration is as revolutionary as was the process that established it in power. You've also written that the events of 1989 in Eastern Europe and the ongoing changes in the former USSR are truly revolutionary. Would you elaborate on that?

They're revolutionary in that they end the life history of a regime. Communism is a total order. After World War II it came to be the order prevalent over almost one-third of the planet. That's a major affair. The events in Eastern Europe in 1989 and the ex-Soviet Union in 1991 killed that type of order. To be sure there are still major communist regimes around—in Cuba, China and elsewhere—but the mold is broken, the system is discredited. It's only a question of time before the other remaining regimes give way. It's a major revolutionary event that a total order such as that should come crashing down in these two big episodes: 1989 and 1991.

What were the most significant East European events in your view?

Eastern Europe overall was the Achilles heel of the system. There was a double weakness there. In addition to the usual structural weakness of a command-administrative system—which you had in the Soviet

New Soviet/Russian and East European Titles From UC Press

National Ideology Under Socialism: Identity and Cultural Politics in Ceausescu's Romania. Author Katherine Verdery searches out the historical antecedents of national rhetoric and shows how, in the socialist period, the potent symbol of nationalist ideology became the object of a power struggle among factions of intellectuals and the Party. **Katherine Verdery** is professor in and chair of the Department of Anthropology at Johns Hopkins University.

The Dynamics of the Breakthrough in Eastern Europe: The Polish Experience. Jadwiga Staniszkis, an internationally-known expert on contemporary trends in Eastern Europe, presents the breakthrough of 1989 as a consequence, not only of systemic contradictions within socialism, but also of a series of unique circumstances such as the emergence of the "globalist" faction in Moscow and the discovery of the roundtable technique as a productive ritual of communication. Translated from the Polish by Chester A. Kisiel, with an introduction by Ivan Szelenyi. **Jadwiga Staniszkis** is a docent (associate professor) at the Institute of Sociology, Warsaw University.

The Generation: The Rise and Fall of the Jewish Communists of Poland. Drawing on archival research and interviews with forty-three surviving members of a generation that gave up everything but its dream of a new world order, Jaff Schatz relates the life story of the Jews who joined the Polish Communist party in the late 1920s and early 1930s, only to become its victims thirty years later. **Jaff Schatz** is director of the Institute for Jewish Culture and is affiliated with the Department of Sociology at Lunds University, Sweden.

The Establishment of Communist Rule in Poland, 1943-1948. Krystyna Kersten details the Communist party's manipulation of Polish society, media and politics. She depicts the political scene during the critical period from the final years of World War II to the consolidation of Stalinism at the end of 1948. First published underground in Poland in 1984, this inside look at the communist takeover is now available in an English translation by John Micgiel and Michael H. Bernhard, with a forward by Jan T. Gros. **Krystyna Kersten** is professor of history at the University of Warsaw and is a member of the Polish Academy of Sciences.

Russia's Women: Accommodation, Resistance, Transformation. Using recent scholarship on gender, the family, class and the role and status of women, the authors of this collection of original essays examine the history of Russian women from the eleventh through the twentieth centuries. This scholarship is drawn from little-known

published and archival sources and is edited by Barbara Evans Clements, Barbara Alpern Engel, and Christine D. Worobec.

Cultural Mythologies of Russian Modernism: From the Golden Age to the Silver Age. Editors Boris Gasparov, Robert Hughes and Irina Paperno present 22 essays (six in Russian) on the period encompassing turn-of-the-century Russia to the Stalinist era. Contributors include UC Berkeley professors Boris Gasparov, Joan Grossman, Robert Hughes, Simon Karlinsky and Irina Paperno.

New World Disorder: The Leninist Extinction. Earlier attempts to grasp the essence of Leninism have treated the Soviet experience as either a variant of Western history or as alien to it. Both approaches rob Leninism of much of its intriguing novelty. In this collection of nine essays written between 1974 and 1991, author Ken Jowitt takes a different tack, comparing the Leninist phenomenon to the liberal experience in the West. The last three essays, written in early 1991, challenge the complacent and self-serving belief that the world is being reshaped in the Western image. **Ken Jowitt** is a professor in the Department of Political Science at UC Berkeley. Available in April 1992.

Physics and Politics in Revolutionary Russia. Political and social revolution threatened to confound the scientific revolution in Russia, and physicists were forced to subordinate their interests to those of the state. Focusing on Leningrad, the center of Soviet physics until the late 1930s, Paul Josephson discusses the impact of scientific, cultural and political revolution on the professional aspirations and research of Soviet physicists. This account of scientists cut off from their Western colleagues reveals a little-known part of the history of modern physics. **Paul Josephson** teaches in the Department of Science, Technology and Society at Sarah Lawrence College.

An American Engineer in Stalin's Russia: the Memoirs of Zara Witkin, 1932-1934. In 1932 Zara Witkin, a prominent American engineer, set off for the Soviet Union to help build socialism and to meet the film star Emma Tsesarskaia. His memoirs offer a detailed view of Stalin's bureaucracy, as well as a record of his passion for Tsesarskaia and his friendships with Soviet citizens. In his introduction, Michael Gelb provides the historical context of Witkin's experience, as well as insights by Emma Tsesarskaia from a 1989 interview. Michael Gelb is assistant professor in the Department of History at Franklin and Marshall College. He was a Mellon post-doctoral fellow at the Slavic Center during fall 1987. □

Recent Publications by Slavic Center-Affiliated Faculty

- Bonnell, Victoria E.** "Voluntary Associations in Gorbachev's Reform Program." *Can Gorbachev's Reforms Succeed?* Berkeley: CSEES/BSP, 1990. Reprinted in *The Soviet System in Crisis: A Reader of Western and Soviet Views*. Boulder: Westview Press, 1992.
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- , ed., *Soviet Policy in Africa*. Berkeley: Center for Slavic and East European Studies/Berkeley-Stanford Program in Soviet Studies (CSEES/BSP), 1992.
- , ed., *Dilemmas of Transition in the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe*. Berkeley: CSEES/BSP, 1991.
- , Harry Kreisler and Benjamin Ward, eds., *Beyond the Cold War: Conflict and Cooperation in the Third World*. Berkeley: UC Berkeley International and Area Studies, 1991.
- , Explaining Soviet Policy Changes: Politics, Ideology and Learning. In *Soviet Policy in Africa*. Berkeley: CSEES/BSP, 1992.
- , Is the Soviet System Transformable?: The Perennial Question. In *Dilemmas of Transition in the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe*. Berkeley: CSEES/BSP, 1991.
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- , "Bursting the Dams: Soviet Politics and Society Since the Coup." *Problems of Communism* (November-December 1991).
- , Thinking About the Soviet Future. In *Can Gorbachev's Reforms Succeed?* Berkeley: CSEES/BSP, 1991. Reprinted in *The Soviet System in Crisis: A Reader of Western and Soviet Views*. Boulder: Westview Press, 1991.
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- and Kathryn Hendley. "Between Perestroika and Privatization: Divided Strategies and Political Crisis in a Soviet Enterprise." *Soviet Studies* 44 (3): 371-402 (1992).
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- , "Institutional Owners and Corporate Managers: A Comparative Perspective." the Fourth Abraham L. Pomerantz Lecture. *Brooklyn Law Review* 57:1 (1991).
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- , 'Moi Pushkin': Briusov's Search for the Real Aleksandr Sergeevich. In *Cultural Mythologies of Russian Modernism: From the Golden Age to the Silver Age*, eds. B. Gasparov, R. Hughes and I. Paperno. Berkeley-Los Angeles: UC Press, 1991.
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Lubomirski: Hermis oder die Hirtenkönigin, das heisst: Glücklich, wer sich mit seinem Stand zufrieden gibt. Translation from the Polish into German. Polnischer Barock. Ein literarisches Lesebuch von Czeslaw Hernas (Polnische Bibliothek). Frankfurt/M: 1991.

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New Publication From the Center: *Soviet Policy in Africa*

The Berkeley-Stanford Program in Soviet Studies and the Center for Slavic and East European Studies announces the publication of *Soviet Policy in Africa: From the Old to the New Thinking*. Contributors include S. Neil MacFarlane, David E. Albright, Philip Nel, Richard B. Remnek, George W. Breslauer and W. Raymond Duncan.

1992, paper, 271 pages. ISBN 0-9622629-3-5. \$19.95. To order send \$19.95 + applicable sales tax for California residents (no charge for shipping and handling), to the Center for Slavic and East European Studies, 361 Stephens Hall, University of California at Berkeley, Berkeley, CA 94720, Attn: Book Orders. No cash please.

Grossman Receives AAASS Distinguished Contribution Award

The American Association for the Advancement of Slavic Studies has conferred the award for Distinguished Contributions to Slavic Studies on Gregory Grossman, professor in the Department of Economics. The certificate reads in part: "In the complex, difficult, and often arcane field of Soviet-type economies, you stand out as a pioneer among scholars...Generations of 'Sovietologists' have found your work an indispensable guide.

"Among your many other contributions, you developed the concepts, systemized the attributes, and defined and popularized the terms 'command economy' and 'second economy.' These terms became an essential part of the lexicon of economics, and in the 1980s the concepts came to be accepted even by Soviet economists. Mastery of economic theory and profound understanding of the interrelations of economic theory, history, and institutions characterize your research. Your writings are not only analytically distinguished, but a joy to read...The American Association for the Advancement of Slavic Studies and your numerous colleagues and students throughout the world gratefully and warmly acknowledge their profound debt to your scholarship." Congratulations Professor Grossman!

1991-92 Slavic Center Lectures and Brown Bag Lunch Talks

Calin Anastasiu, "Romania: Recent Evolutions in Politics," 10/16/91
 Jan K. Bielecki, "The Polish Experience of Political and Economic Change," 9/6/91
 Sergei Bobylev, "Can Russia Feed Itself?" 2/11/92
 William C. Brumfield, "Moscow On the Threshold of a New Century: 1900-2000," 11/14/91
 Viktor Ivanovich Buganov, "The Time of Troubles: A Reinterpretation," 10/10/91
 Fedor Burlatskii, "The Political Situation After the Coup: The Problems of the Union and Democracy," 11/12
 Emil Constantinescu, "The Development and the Role of Democratic Parties in Romania," 2/12/92
 Andrew Farkas, "Doing Business in Eastern Europe: Hungary," 10/24/91
 Boris Gasparov, "Going to Tallin Without a Soviet Visa," 11/5
 Mel Gordon, "Machinism in Early Soviet Theatre," 1/29/92
 Mikhail Guboglo, "The Politics of Bilingualism in the USSR," 11/25/91
 Kathryn Hendley, "Between Perestroika and Privatization: Management Coping With Economic and Political Instability," 3/18/92
 Milena Honzikova, "Czech Theater in the Past Twenty Years," 10/9/91
 Richard Hovannisian, "The Republic of Armenia: Old Challenge and New Opportunities," 2/26/92
 Rajendra Jain, "Germany and the Soviet Union in the 1990s," 10/23/91
 Andrew Janos, "Eastern Europe: Interstate Relations in the No-Man's Land," 2/26/92
 Kenneth Jowitt, "Fragmentation vs. Transition in the Former Leninist World," 9/4/91
 Peter Kantor, "Art and Literature in Contemporary Hungary," 1/30/92
 Bill Keller, "Misreading Boris Yeltsin," 11/20/91
 Yanni Kotsonis, "Soviet Agricultural Cooperatives and the Development of the Agrarian Question, 1917-1930," 2/19/92
 Andrew Kuchins, "The New, Newer, Newest Political Thinking in the USSR and Russia," 10/30/91
 Monika Kulicka and Dariusz Lipski, "Contemporary Art in Poland," 9/11/91
 Vladimir Ilyich Lafitskii, "The Path of Law in the Soviet Union and Russia," 10/1/91
 Roman Livschitz, "Recent Developments in Labor Law in the Former Soviet Republics," 3/5/92
 Sergei Mironenko, "Historical Research: 19th-Century Russia," 11/4/91
 Serge Petroff, "The August Revolution: An Eyewitness Account," 10/17/91
 Victor Sheinis, "Social and Political Dynamics in Today's Russia," 1/28/92
 Andrei Shugaev, "Changes in Enterprise Law in the USSR," 10/2/91
 Renata Siemienska-Zochowska, "Women's Rights in Poland," 3/4/92
 Yuri Slezkine, "From Savages to Citizens: The Cultural Revolution in the Soviet Far North: 1928-1938," 2/5/92
 Maxim Stamenov, "Political Change and the Current Situation in Bulgaria," 9/25/91
 John Stephan, "The Great Terror: a Far Eastern Perspective," 9/17/91

Franziska Stocklin, "Hopes and Fears in Post-Communist Czechoslovakia," 2/13/92
 Andrew Stern with Vince Malmgren, "The Future of Television in Russia and the USSR," 11/19/91
 Mark Tauger, "Peasant Resistance and the Soviet Famine of 1930," 2/10/92
 Akira Uegaki, "Economic Transformation in Postwar Japan (1945-1950) and Reform in Eastern Europe Today: A Comparative Study," 3/11/92
 Nikolai Zlobin, "The Break-up of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, and Newly-Emerging Parties in Russia," 2/18/92

Panel and Roundtable Discussions

"From Coup d'Etat to Coup de Grace: Implications For the Soviet Future," 8/27/91
 "Reporting the Soviet Coup: a Roundtable Discussion of the August Revolution," 11/7/91 □



The 35th Annual San Francisco International Film Festival: April 23-May 7

Presented by the San Francisco Film Society, the S.F. International Film Festival again offers a rich sampling of Russian/Soviet and East European films, including *Revenge (Myest)* (1989, 110 mins., in Russian with English titles, directed by Yermek Shinarbaev), a Kazakh production; and *Virginia* (1991, 140 mins., in Serbo-Croatian with English titles, directed by Srdjan Karanovic), a Yugoslav-French production. Both will be screened at the Kabuki Theater in San Francisco. For dates and ticket information call 415/931-FILM.

The following films will be screened both in San Francisco and at Pacific Film Archive in Berkeley. From Russia come *Get Thee Out!* (1991, 90 mins., in Russian with English titles, directed by Dmitry Astrakhan); *Hey, You Wild Geese (Oy, vy gousi)* (1991, 88 mins., in Russian with English titles, directed by Lydia Bobrova); and *The Scorpion's Gardens (Sady Skorpiona)* (1991, 96 mins., in Russian with English titles, directed by Oleg Kovalov). Czechoslovakia offers *The Elementary School (Obecná škola)* (1991, 105 mins., in Czech with English titles, directed by Jan Sverak); Lithuania, *Three Days (Trys Dienos)* (1991, 76 mins., in Lithuanian and Russian with English titles, directed by Sarunas Bartas); and Hungary, *Private Hungary* (1988-1989; two films, total running time 105 mins., in English, directed by Péter Forgács).

See the Calendar on page 12 for ticket information and the location of Pacific Film Archive. □

Malia from page 3

Union as well—in Eastern Europe it had been imposed by force, not uniformly, but essentially. The weakest link in the Leninist chain was, therefore, Eastern Europe, and the weakest link in Eastern Europe was Poland, for a variety of historical reasons. Just to mention one, the Khrushchev deStalinization in Poland had led to the establishment of a national communist regime with more autonomy than any of the others had in Eastern Europe. It also led to the end of an effort to stamp out the Church, as well as the end of the drive for complete collectivization of agriculture in Poland. By building on this autonomy, through a series of further shocks in the 1970s and the major shock in 1980, a real post-communist movement got going for the first time with Solidarity. Neither Warsaw nor Moscow had the strength or the will to snuff it out, the way they had snuffed out things earlier in Budapest and Prague. The failure to snuff it out was already an admission of weakness and a sign that the system was getting creaky everywhere. So Poland after 1980 represents the beginning of the end, and the Soviet opposition learned a great deal from this earlier East European event.

You were an observer of the Solidarity revolution. You spent a good deal of time in Poland during critical events, and you were close to the people who were making that history. What was distinctive in Poland, as compared with the Soviet Union?

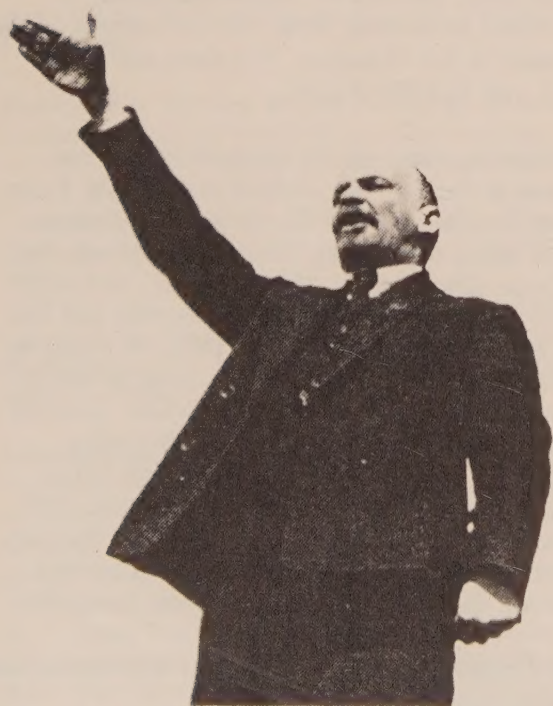
Poland's was the longest-running organized dissident

movement in Eastern Europe. There were sixteen almost miraculous months in 1980-81 when they kept going despite the possibility of things ending as they had in Prague and Budapest. That takes a fair amount of either foolishness or courage or both. It created a special atmosphere that was not duplicated later in the Soviet Union, where the revolution began from above, within the Party. It was the initiative of Gorbachev and the leadership that started the decomposition in Russia. This meant that the opposition, the democrats—people such as Yeltsin, Sakharov, Afanas'ev, Sobchak, Popov—had, if you like, less merit in challenging the system than did the people in Solidarity, because half the work of destruction was inadvertently done for them by the Party itself. It didn't generate the same wonderful psychological momentum you had in Poland.

For about three or four years of Gorbachev's six years, we were mesmerized by his reform communist revolution from above. And now that communism is overthrown and we have people in charge who say they are democrats, and who say they want democracy and a market economy along Western lines, we're either uninterested or unhappy. And I find this both bizarre and undeserved. It's about time we got over our Gorbomania, that we realize the limitations of the man and of his perestroika; it's time we paid more attention to the effort now being made by the new Russian revolution to build a democratic order and a market economy.

One thing many people have noted is the ambiguity in attitude of Americans, whether it be the intellectual establishment, or the American press, indeed Americans in general, toward the current Russian revolution compared with their enthusiasm for the Solidarity revolution. Have you noticed this?

There was clearly much more enthusiasm in America and the West for the Solidarity revolution than for the recent Russian revolution. The Poles had been more active than had the Russians in taking liberty themselves. They were underdogs against a potentially bullying power. Moreover, the Polish revolution was able to win the support of both the right and the left. Solidarity was a trade union on the one hand, yet it was pious and national on the other hand. It was anti-communist, but it was also grassroots democratic. The Russian democrats are being made out to be Great Russian chauvinists and authoritarians because those two things, chauvinism and authoritarianism, are deemed to be the immutable Russian tradition. People just don't look at the concrete things that the democrats and the Yeltsin government are doing, such as abolishing the Communist party and its "plan." We're still so hung up on Gorby that even though he went out of office saying he was a socialist and a communist and waving the Red Flag, we



Lenin addresses a crowd



Boris Yeltsin: August, 1991. (Photo, Sean Ramsay).

take him to be the democrat and these new people to be the authoritarians and chauvinists. I find this bizarre. I can't wholly account for it. I hope these attitudes will change, because the present Russian government is committed to American-style Western democratic and economic values in a way that Gorbachev and perestroika never were. Gorbachev represented a reform communism, not democracy, and he never seriously considered a transition to the market.

Beyond the American take on Yeltsin, what in your view has been the overall U.S. policy response to post-communism, and what could we be doing to help the new Russian government achieve its goals?

I think that both the Western governments—especially the American government—and the Western media, have been way behind reality in coming to terms with what occurred in Russia between August and December of last year. The American administration hasn't realized that a genuine revolution occurred, and that what we've been waiting for for decades with our policy of containment, namely the mellowing or the collapse of communism, has at last happened. We're dissatisfied that the Soviet republics have broken up the Union, since that's inconvenient

for us. I think we should step in—making it clear that we support what's happening—with economic aid of the sort that will pass muster with the IMF and the World Bank, aid of the sort the Germans are moving toward. If we're worried about disorder and chaos in that part of the world, the only way to prevent it is to help the responsible people now in power create a new, viable order. We're just standing on the sidelines regretting Gorbachev and not moving. I think we should get moving.

I wonder how politically possible this will be. One of the things that concerns Americans now is the the possible emergence of an unattractive nationalism in Russia. We were told in a recent bag lunch talk that German policy toward Eastern Europe today is totally different from what it was historically, that Germany has turned its back on territorial claims or territorial hegemony in that region. Has the Soviet Union undergone a similar change of policy?

First of all a general observation. Nationalism in some form is absolutely inevitable in any modern nation-state. Nationalism is not, *per se*, wicked, as one often hears these days. We are now sufficiently far from the extraordinary viciousness of World War II to realize that there can be *benign* forms of nationalism, and that for any nation to function, some kind of national sentiment is necessary and inevitable. The way to avoid bad nationalisms is to cultivate the good, legitimate kind. The national revival, the national renaissance that we've seen in Russia since the fall of communism is of the legitimate, good kind. They're trying to return to traditional, spiritual values of the nation—and all nations have their specific values—that had been denied by the spurious internationalism of communism and by the hegemony of the Party. They are trying to resurrect what's viable in the Russian national, cultural, religious and political tradition. I think we should welcome this.

Moreover, the behavior of the new Russian government is incredible from the point of view of traditional Russian national hegemonism. Here you have a Russian government that's willing to let go of the whole of the old Soviet Union, to let depart such traditional Russian imperial territories as Byelorussia, Ukraine, Crimea, even the northern part of the Baltic states taken over by Peter the Great, Central Asia, the works. This is something we've never seen any Russian government do, and something the British and French governments, or the Belgian and Dutch governments, or the Portuguese government, did only with the greatest reluctance and often after wars, in the wake of World War II. There is no renaissance of Great Russian chauvinism now. What there is is a modest national, cultural renaissance. I think that is something we should welcome and encourage. □

Library News

Gift to Bancroft

The Bancroft Library recently received the gift of an *Evangelie* (the Gospels) from Stephen and Janet Kepher of Napa, California. The volume was donated in honor of Raymond Kepher, Stephen's father. In collaboration with Professor David Frick of the Department of Slavic Languages and Literatures, the *Evangelie* has been identified as one published in 1663 in the city of Moscow and corresponds to item no. 301 in Zernova, A.S. *Knigi kirillovskoi pechati, izdannye v Moskve v XVI-XVII vekakh : svodnyi catalog*. Moskva : Gos. Biblioteka SSSR, Otdel redkikh knig, 1958 (Books in Cyrillic type, published in Moscow in the 16th and 17th centuries). A preliminary search of national catalogs seems to bear witness that the Bancroft copy is the only non-microfilm example of this particular version of the *Evangelie* present in an American library. The Library is grateful to the Kephers for their generous donation.

Improved way to identify newspaper holdings

A new way of searching GLADIS allows for the isolation of newspaper titles geographically. By using the search term "find ng [country name/republic/city]..." one can get a list of newspapers published in that geographic region. Of course, the swiftness of recent events is not always reflected in the catalog. One still must use the heading "Soviet Union" for the new Commonwealth of Independent States and even more incongruously find the Baltic Republics still listed as being under the Soviet Union control. The process of coding all newspapers listed in GLADIS with this geographic designation is still underway, so be sure to search also under title if you do not find a record for a newspaper in the geographic list.

—Allan Urbanic
Slavic Librarian

Voice Mail Can Help

Some of our readers may have noticed that the Slavic Center now has voice mail on our main line, 642-3230. If Brenda is not at her desk or if the line is busy, after three rings the caller will hear a message (*not*, we hasten to say, a string of "press 1-2-3s!")

To leave a message, press the pound sign (#) and speak. Your call will be returned promptly. If you would like to have a recorded listing of events for the current week, stay on the line. The calendar is updated every Friday afternoon.

Congratulations to Graduate Student IREX Nominees

The following UC Berkeley graduate students have been awarded Individual Advanced Research Exchange fellowships for study in Eastern Europe. Czechoslovakia: **Susan McCroskey** (Slavic) and **Andrew Schwartz** (political science). Hungary: **David Schneider** and **Andrew Schwartz** (political science). Slavonic Studies Seminar in Bulgaria: **William Nickell** (Slavic) and **Glen Worthey** (Slavic). In addition, **Robert Wessling** (Slavic) was awarded a Language Training Grant.

Associates of the Slavic Center

Send your check, made payable to the Regents of the University of California, to the Center for Slavic and East European Studies, 361 Stephens Hall, University of California, Berkeley, CA 94720, Attn: ASC.

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It is the policy of the University of California, Berkeley, and the University of California, Berkeley Foundation, that a portion of gifts and/or income therefrom is used to defray the costs of raising and administering the funds.

Donations are tax deductible to the extent authorized by law.

Mazowsze Polish Folk Ensemble Hosted by the Associates

On Friday, March 13, the internationally-renowned folk troupe from Poland, Mazowsze, appeared on the Zellerbach Hall stage with a program of national and regional dances performed by nearly 100 dancers, singers and musicians. Group tickets at special rates had been offered to the Associates. After the concert everyone headed for the campus Alumni House, where the Associates, together with the San Francisco-based Lowiczanie Polish Folk Dance Ensemble, hosted a reception for Mazowsze. The Associates and Lowiczanie provided a late buffet supper for all with some traditional items from Polish cuisine, which guests enjoyed while striking up impromptu conversations with the members of Mazowsze. The concert was a spectacular example of the kind of production that has been popular both in its home country and in the West, but which may shortly be consigned to history as the arts in Eastern Europe squarely face the transition process.

ASC "Wine-and-Cheese" Lecture with NPR's Ann Cooper

Members of the Associates of the Slavic Center gathered on February 6 to hear Ann Cooper, Moscow correspondent with National Public Radio for more than four years, talk about her experiences. Although Ms. Cooper brought to life the daily hardships of the Russian people, she also stressed their great resiliency and ability to cope. With personal anecdotes and vivid descriptions, she provided a picture of everyday life in Russia that does not surface in newspaper accounts but that will undoubtedly play a role in determining the future of this indeterminate land.

After the lecture the Associates enjoyed wine and delectables, while discussing developments within the territory once known as the USSR. Several of those present will soon embark on Alumni tours to Russia, where they will see history in the making at first-hand.

Membership Information

Members (to \$100). Members of ASC regularly receive Newsletter "Updates" and special mailings to be sure they are aware of last-minute events. They will also receive invitations to special "wine and cheese" lecture events, featuring guest speakers from the faculty as well as visiting scholars.

Sponsors (\$100-up). ASC Sponsors will, in addition, be our guests at a special cultural program held during the year. Sponsors also receive a uniquely designed tote bag, promoting Slavic and East European Studies at Berkeley. All donors of \$100 or more are listed in Berkeley's Annual Report of Private Giving.

Benefactors (\$500-up). ASC Benefactors will also be our guests at the dinner and evening programs associated with our annual conferences. Invitations will be offered to the annual Benefactors' Meetings. Benefactors will also receive complimentary copies of the books published by the Center on major developments in the former Soviet Union and Eastern Europe.

Center Circle (\$1,000-up). In addition to enjoying the above-mentioned benefits, donors within the Center Circle will also become Robert Gordon Sproul Associates of the University. As such, they are invited to the Chancellor's annual black tie banquet and to luncheons before the major football games. They also receive membership in the Faculty Club and twenty other worldwide faculty clubs.

(The funds obtained from the annual giving are used to support the program of research, teaching and public outreach which the Center has established through the years).

Please note: The Center is not able to mail fliers and announcements to everyone on our mailing list. Those on the mailing list receive our quarterly newsletter. Associates of the Center do receive update mailings as part of their membership entitlements. Callers will find a recording of the week's events on the Center number, 510/642-3230.

The Center sincerely thanks the following individuals who contributed to the Slavic Center from January 8 through March 16, 1992. The support of the Center Associates makes possible many additional programs each year and provides ongoing support for programs already in place. Watch this page for announcements of special offerings for our members. (*Signifies recent gift of continuing membership)

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Calendar of Events

Wednesday, April 22

BROWN BAG LUNCH: Tea Petrin, professor of economics, University of Ljubljana, will talk about "Entrepreneurs and Entrepreneurship in Eastern Europe." Co-sponsored with the Institute of International Studies. 442 Stephens, noon.

April 23 - May 7

35TH ANNUAL SAN FRANCISCO INTERNATIONAL FILM FESTIVAL: See article on page 7 for a listing of Slavic and East European films. For information on San Francisco venues call 415/931-FILM. For ticket information on Pacific Film Archive showing, call PFA at 510/642-1412. Tickets may be purchased at PFA's ticket office or charged by phone at 510/642-5249. Pacific Film Archive is located at 2625 Durant Avenue, Berkeley.

Thursday, April 23

LECTURE: Elemer Hankiss, professor of political science at Budapest University and president of Hungarian Television, will speak on "Conflict in the Media in East Central Europe." 104 Barrows, 4:00 p.m.

FILM: *The Civil War* (1991, 104 mins., in English). Part one of a ten-part documentary series, *Russia: The Missing Years*, covers the period 1917-1922. This exciting project is based on footage, 60-70% of which has never been shown, that has only recently been made available from Soviet archives. The film is a collaboration between U.S. and Russian filmmakers; the script is by Judy Bruce, and the director is Alexander Aizenberg. Distribution of Part II on the Kirov and Bolshoi Ballets is planned for December of this year. 117 Dwinelle Hall, 5:15 p.m.

Saturday, April 25

CONCERT: Kitka, the East European Women's Chorus, performs. Tickets are \$12 at the door, \$10 in advance. Call 510/229-2710 for ticket information. The Musicians' Coffee House, Mount Diablo Unitarian Universalist Church, 55 Eckley Lane, Walnut Creek, 8:00 p.m.

Monday, April 27

LECTURE: Andrei Sinyavsky, professor, University of Paris (Sorbonne) and editor of the Paris-Russian journal *Sintaksis*, will speak (in Russian) on "Current Cultural Developments in Russia." Sponsored by the Slavic Department. 229 Dwinelle, 4:00 p.m.

Wednesday, April 29

BROWN BAG LUNCH: Jane Dawson, Ph.D. candidate in the Department of Political Science, will discuss her research on nuclear and environmental policy in Russia, Belarus and Ukraine. 442 Stephens, noon.

Wednesday, May 6

BROWN BAG LUNCH: Maria N. Todorova, professor of history, Rice University, will speak on "Ethnicity, Nationalism and the Legacy of Communism in Eastern Europe." 442 Stephens, noon.

Friday - Sunday, May 8 - 10

CONCERT: Kitka in a special performance with Khadra International Folk Ballet. There will be a reception on Friday evening; call 415/626-7360 for program and ticket information. Cowell Theater, Fort Mason, San Francisco. Friday and Saturday 8:00 p.m., Sunday 3:00 p.m.

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